husband). Father's sister's husband is termed *imaongo* and mother's brother's wife *yenolulu*. 601

The terms for husband and wife are *ima* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomié* and his sisters' husbands *oneá*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *onungená* and her sisters' husbands *enomié*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone whom he or she called sister or brother. 582 An individual was expected to marry within his or her moiety and class. Marriage was generally monogamous, but there was no objection to polygamy. 595 There was no strict rule of residence, the young couple remaining with the parents who had greater rank and wealth. 591 There was no mother-in-law or father-in-law avoidance. 606

The above is a general description of the social organization of the Terena while they were in the Chaco. 105 177 How much was due to Mbayá influence and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period is difficult to ascertain in detail. Comparisons with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship terminology, the marriage rules, and probably the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the class and military organization was taken over from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin. [847]

[Traditional Culture]

/50 cont./ "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally, to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form. Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 240.

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there
361 were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family
643 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to
178 choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the
611 kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal
602 relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the
604

[601] 1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootű; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulű; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," ōngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

/405 cont./
592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.
122 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.
291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

/407 cont./

585 standing near her. The bridegroom now sits down beside the
273 bride, whereupon the latter exchanges her bottle of caña with the bottle of the bridegroom. /408/ The bridegroom's family then goes home and drinks up the bride's liquor. The bridegroom remains in the bride's hut and empties the other bottle with her family. The marriage ties are knotted by this exchange of the
591 two bottles. The husband always remains in the family hut of his
595 wife. If there are more marriageable girls there, he takes a second wife, but no ceremony takes place in connection with this.

796 Upa a ne voty. Festival of the seven stars. This great festival of the Terenos is celebrated in the month of April. A week before the festival two old men go from hut to hut: the one arranges for musicians; the other invites the men for the scheduled
[273] night. The guests must provide everything necessary, especially caña, before the festival, for the more there is to drink, the more splendid the festival. On the scheduled night, between one and two o'clock, all the men gather in the festival plaza. One of the oldest men stands in the middle of the plaza, holding a lance in his hand; the others squat on the ground, forming a circle around the old man. Then the old man speaks, his face turned toward the east: I am the grandfather of all the chiefs who live in the east! He then enumerates all the names of the latter known to him. Then he turns to the north, then to the west, then to the south, and repeats the same thing. In this way he pretends to be the grandfather of all the important men of the
[821] world. He then looks toward the sky and asks the seven stars for
[782] rain and implores them to protect his people from war, sickness, snakebites, etc. This prayer lasts for some hours. As soon as the prayer is ended, the old man lets out a howl, whereupon the whole company jumps up, howls, rattles, shoots, and makes a terrible noise with all sorts of instruments. The old man then goes home, while the company goes around the plaza with shouting and up-
796 roar until dawn. Four to six small leaf-houses are built around
533 the plaza for the musicians. Toward six o'clock in the evening the above-mentioned old man gives a sign with the yntaca,

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
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around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relationship of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal polyandry*. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, "Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection.

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[285] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is
595 permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[588] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428